5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

423 man to take responsibility while their sons are still too young. This man will
431 'look after' their land in an economic, political and religious sense and will restore
736 it to the son or sons when they come of age. But in the cases of which I have knowledge, some land is likely to stay with the protector, who often becomes an heir of the widow or cripple.

423 4. In all the cases mentioned so far land is an object representing
591 respectable status and exchangeable for services of a quasi-filial nature. The same applies to most instances I know of uxorilocal marriage. Here it was usually the
583 wife's relatives who desired the husband to stay with them, whereas the latter had no pressing reasons to leave his home village. They were generous in their offers of land, and no sensible man would move without such inducement. After the eruption of Mount Lamington, the survivors of the Sangara tribe, greatly reduced in numbers, offered generous land portions, on a wholly permanent basis, to men who would marry uxorilocally. Widowers dependent on the care of their daughters will encourage uxorilocal marriage in the same way. (The frequency of uxorilocal marriage among the Orokaiva is between 5 and 10 per cent.) In these cases it is clear that land donors are motivated by the desire to attract the son-in-law, and that the son-in-law is motivated by pleasure at the status he will gain as symbolised by the land he is allowed to 'look after'.

423 5. A very similar motivation may be found for the land transfers made in
425 Sivepe in 1966–7 to families who had migrated from neighbouring Garombi.
166 Seeking an increase in population, Sivepe leaders frequently encouraged dissident minorities in some neighbouring villages to join them. When the Garombi people came, a good deal of effort was made to obligate them and attract their friendship and loyalty. Two men gave useholds over gardens and one man gave a usehold over three yam gardens. It is likely that there were other transfers as well, just before I left the field and afterwards. One of the men who received a taro garden started using the donor's plant emblem when working in that garden, thus emphasising the closeness of the bond with the donor's family, as plant emblems are normally transmitted only by descent. Here the donors were motivated by a desire to attach the immigrants more closely to themselves, and the recipients gave friendship and loyalty in return. Here, as in uxorilocal residence, the migrants' willingness to settle in the village was itself treated as a benefit bestowed upon the local people by the migrants.

423 6. As already mentioned, the transfer of land to sisters and daughters is
428 very common. It is the rule that, in the absence of brothers and sons, sisters and
425 daughters should inherit land in preference to second degree kin. I know of several instances where absent brothers and sons were overlooked in favour of sisters and daughters resident in the village. Even if brothers and sons are living in the village, some land may be transferred to females. This will occur especially if a daughter's or sister's husband is known to be short of gardening land. In addition, it may occur for the kind of reasons given by Lawrence in his discussion of land transfers among the Garia, i.e. the enhanced status gained by the mother's brother when he acquires a junior follower strongly dependent on
[554] him. Among the Orokaiva where the majority of people marry close to home, a man's generosity to his sister may yield him quite a number of loyal supporters if the sister happened to have many children.

423 7. Land is sometimes made available by an individual *enda mama* for a
621
431

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

plexes" (1967: 123). In particular, he stated the opinion that many Melanesian structures '*ne relèvent pas des structures élémentaires*' (*ibid.*: 122). We learn the precise meaning of this statement in another essay, '*The Future of Kinship Studies*, published in the English language in 1966. Whereas elementary structures operate ideally within a fixed number of marriage classes, the rules of complex structures are so framed that the system requires a perpetual supply of new affinal groups for its continued operation. They produce a probabilistic alliance network. Rules of this kind are found in the Crow and Omaha systems, but also in many other culture areas, including Melanesia (1966: 21).

Since these hypotheses were published, a number of anthropologists have begun to test them empirically. To mention only two examples, Guiart (1968) has shown the presence of restricted exchange rules in New Caledonia and Kelly (1968) has shown the presence of generalised exchange on Dobu. It seems, however, that a crucial implication of the Lévi-Straussian hypotheses remains to be explored. It is suggested that restricted and generalised exchange (or perhaps restricted and complex exchange) *encounter* one another in the Melanesian culture area. This would imply the possibility of the simultaneous existence in the same society of both forms and some interaction between the two. If such a society could be found, the hypothesis implies that generalised exchange attempts to establish itself there, but *fails* to find a firm foothold, while features of restricted exchange tend to reassert themselves constantly as a result of this *failure*.

The interest of the Orokaiva case lies in the coexistence of the two systems, on the level both of norms and facts. In Orokaiva social structure we may see the two systems in interaction and discover by which factors each of the systems is maintained in opposition to the other. We thus arrive at a model on a higher level of abstraction than those of Guiart and Kelly, but comprising them both. In this model moiety systems are perpetually broken up by forces built into the structure itself: yet the model also predicts their perpetual reinstatement. The model consists, in fact, of a cyclical movement between the two patterns. The reality of Melanesian structure is not exhausted by either of the two patterns taken in isolation, but includes their necessary alternation over time and in space. The dynamic whereby this alternation is produced is the main subject of this chapter.

2. *Patrilineal Groups*

The Orokaiva are patrilocal and have dispersed patriclans. They make many statements which demonstrate their patrilineal ideology: agnates are expected to support each other in war and all other vicissitudes of life, irrespective of their place of residence. The basic inheritance rule is patrilineal. Clans and clan segments have distinctive emblems which are passed on in the patriline and identified with a common agnatic ancestor. One may even hear claims that the dispersed clan is an exogamous unit. All analytically-minded investigators, however, have been aware that this agnatic ideology covered up a very different reality. Williams remarked: 'The Orokaiva organisation very nearly approaches a bilateral system, though in theory it is patrilineal' (1925: 407). Williams was especially struck by the 'laxity' of the marriage regulations and by cases where

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

601 *Min*: Sister exchange marriage. *Dor*: Marriage 'by purchase'. Under this code, we may define the following terms:

1. *Terms principally used for addressing consanguines*:

epe:	Ef	M	Sr	Gl	A
	M	Sr	Gl	A	Min
tata:	Ef	F	Sr	Gl	A
	F	Sr	Gl	A	Min
ahije:	F	Jr	Gl	A	
	Jr	Gl	A	Min	

2. *Exclusively affinal terms*

atovo:	Em	M	Sr	Gl	//	A	Dor	
imbohi:	Em	F	Sr	Gl	A	Dor		(Williams: *imboti*)
behere:	Em	SS	Gl	X	A	Dor		(Williams: *betere*)
dambo:	Em	SS	G–O	//	A			(Williams: *nabori*)
	Em	SS	G–O	X	A			(Williams: *betere*)
hovatu:	OS	G–O	A					
bi:	Ef	SS	G–O	A				
imi:	M	Jr	Gl	A	Dor			

601 The fact that a brother and sister, upon marriage, use different types of
602 affinal kinship terms corresponds to a fundamental difference in their social position in relation to their affinal family. The brother, under a *dorobu* marriage contract, remains a perpetual debtor to his affines. He has deprived them of their most precious possession, a nubile daughter, without giving a woman in exchange. Even though he has given bridewealth and done bride service, and continued making prestations of many kinds, these propitiatory offerings do not wipe out the debt. The *imi* must therefore always act with humility and feel shame when he meets his *atovo* and even more, his *imbohi*. His sister, however, is under no such burden in her relations with her own affines. Her position is precisely the same, whether the marriage has been established by *mine* or *dorobu*. Her use of consanguineal terminology expresses her far greater familiarity and identification.

[591] It might be argued that such familiarity and identification is the direct consequence of patrilocal virilocal residence, but such residence arrangements do not always lead to the terminological differences I have described. These differences, however, are consistent with an ideology which emphasises the detachment of women from their natal clans and their close attachment to their mother's village to which they are supposed to move upon marriage.

842 Such an ideology is further emphasised by the Orokaiva notions about
614 paternity. Orokaiva believe that a male child is formed in the womb as the result of sexual congress between father and mother, but that a female child is formed by 'the mother sleeping alone'. The male child therefore carries the 'blood' of the father, enabling the child to carry on the father's lineage, but the female child does not. She is still a member of the paternal clan but the connection is evidently viewed as social rather than physiological. Accordingly all females are named by their mother's consanguines, in contrast to males who may be named

614 36 their previous location[1] and the territory of their traditional enemies, the Divinikovari and Togahau, but informants disagreed as to whether this occurred before or after Europeans had established control of the area.

Timunu clan had also originated well to the south near Sasembata (according to its members at Sivepe) but fairly early in the century part of this clan too occupied land around Soroputa nearer the Togahau. Other members of the clan live at Sasembata, Hamburata and Kakita and possibly other villages.

The ancestors of members of Seho clan in Sivepe are said to have moved to the nearby village of Hanimkambari from an area closer to the source of the Sohu River on Mt Lamington. While at Hanimkambari they clashed with the first government patrols in the area. About 1910 some of the Seho people established another village, Asina, nearer the present site of Sivepe, later moving to join Timunu and Jegase groups at Euru. These old villages have now been abandoned but Seho clan is represented in numerous other villages in the area.

c. Localized descent groups

621 Our comments on the clan and village have emphasized that the typical village consists of several groups from different clans. Migrations also have usually been by representatives of particular groups. We now turn to an account of the individual's kinship and affinal relationships within the village. This aspect is best approached with an examination of post-marital residence.

591 (i) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal. But where residence is found to conform to the ideal, any reference to this norm should be supplemented by further data on the links between co-resident kin if we are to give an adequate account of the kinship composition of local groups; moreover, adults have a wide choice of residence. In fact, of the 12 householders in our sample, 5 were not living in their father's village, although 1 of these was living with his adoptive father (his mother's second husband who was a member of her natal village); the other 4 were living only with matrilateral or affinal kin, or both in one of these instances.

It is significant that only 1 of the 7 men remaining had established his household in a village to which he was affiliated

[1] This location may not in fact have been near Sivepe. It may have been Ombisusu (near the pre-contact village of Wasida) which Williams (W.10) says Jegase people abandoned to establish Suin after the arrival of the government. This may have involved a move down the slopes.

591 only through his father and even in this case his sister, her children and his daughter subsequently married in the village so he is now also living with other cognates and with affines. The 6 other men are living in the same village as their father's kin, but for 4 of them this is also their wife's home village, for another it is also his mother's village and the last man is co-resident with patrilineal, matrilateral and affinal kin simultaneously. In several cases certain people fall into more than one of these kinship categories in relation to 1 person. Six householders have sisters who have married within the village.[1]

In view of the fact that such a variety of relationships is found in this group, Hogbin's and Wedgwood's outline of Orokaiva local grouping, which is based on secondary sources, does not seem relevant to present day social organization in this neighbourhood. They regard the Orokaiva as patrivirilocal[2] (1952-4:64 ff.) and suggest that the parish or local political unit is an exogamous patrilineal group whose members were strongly united and unready to assimilate outsiders. Like Williams (1930:131-3) they mention frequent exceptions to this rule of post-marital residence yet seem to underestimate the degree of variability in the composition of the village and to overemphasize the solidarity of the unilineal group and the importance of the preference for patrivirilocal residence and of exogamy in localized patrilineal groups.[3]

Williams on the other hand says 'the Orokaiva organization very nearly approaches a bilateral system, though in theory it is patrilineal' (1925:407) and points to 'the laxity of marriage [582] regulations'. Even in the small Aiga clan 'exogamy is not a hard [614] and fast rule'; preference for intraclan marriage is sometimes expressed (1930:131-2). It may be thought a 'proper thing to keep the women in the village' - which Williams here implicitly equates with clan - 'in the hope of building up its population' (1925:408).

621 A striking proportion of marriages are contracted between members of groups in close proximity. Data available for 35 marriages contracted over 3 genealogical generations by the householders of our sample, or by their parents, siblings or children, show that in 22 cases 1 spouse came either from the

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[1] Four instances of brother-sister exchange marriage among members of Sivepe were recorded (i.e., 8 marriages).

[2] Williams (1930:131) uses the term 'patrilocal'.

[3] The local organization in this neighbourhood seems closer to the category of 'osculant multicarpellary parishes' than any other (see also Hogbin 1963:32). However, we believe that the abstraction, if legitimate now is not the most informative.

621 with some of their co-residents; nevertheless, common residence
614 implies some community of interest and a degree of group solidarity
that is reinforced by Administration and mission policies which
recognise villages rather than descent groups as functional
[431] entities.[1] Marriages between members of the different clan
[476] branches within the village reinforce this solidarity, which is
expressed in such ways as daily food gifts, co-operation in certain
tasks, and joint ceremonial activities.

(b) Social organisation[2]

614 (i) Descent. Every Orokaiva is recruited by birth into the
[611] clan of his or her father. All members of a clan claim, but cannot
necessarily trace, common descent from a usually eponymous ancestor.
[613] Each clan is subdivided into named sub-groups or lineages which
trace their origin to a named ancestor.[3] A lineage comprises, on
average, three households. Usually several clans are represented
in a single village, members of a single clan (clan branches) being
scattered among a number of neighbouring villages. Lineages are
much more localised in character, frequently being confined to a
single village and tending to occupy one section of it.

[622] (ii) Leadership. The Orokaiva social system incorporates no
central authority or hereditary leadership. Instead, it is
[554] characterised by 'big men' (embo dombo) and an ascendency of
elders who have proved themselves equal to the task. Such men
command the respect of the community - based upon observed qualities
of generosity, diligence, wealth, ability to make wise decisions and
skill in arranging ceremonial activities - but it confers no sanc-
tions.

571 (iii) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal,
but in practice people have a wide choice between the village of
patrilateral or matrilateral kin or of affines, and it may be
[572] changed at any time. The composition of individual households
[574] within the village likewise varies, although the basis is generally
the nuclear family. The distribution of clan branches through a
[614] number of villages is closely related to access to the group's
[166] land; hence initial motivation for a long-term change in residence

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1 Cf. comments by Belshaw (1964:277) on villages and descent groups vis-à-vis government policy in Fiji.

2 For a fuller account see Rimoldi 1966:29-75.

3 Genealogical depth is slight, descent rarely being traced to an ancestor more remote than the grandfathers of the oldest men.

may be influenced by proximity to a new area of land it is intended to bring into cultivation.[1]

(iv) Rights to land. The Orokaiva social system is characterised by flexibility in arrangements for group membership and for transmission of rights to land (e.g. through adoption). Inheritance is usually patrilineal[2] and various land rights may be distributed at a number of levels of social segmentation - the clan branch, lineage and individual - the relative significance of each varying with locality and, apparently, population density.[3] Further, more than one descent group may have rights in a single piece of land. In many instances the clan branch functions essentially as a reference group, all land being associated with it. However, it may function as a primary right-holding group for those hunting areas distinct from current garden land, typically the grasslands.[4] Priority rights to garden land are normally vested in the lineage; nevertheless, all such land is ultimately identifiable with individuals who may distribute land (and property) prior to their death not only to their immediate family but also to more distant kin.[5]

This markedly influences the pattern of both exploitation of land and transmission of rights. In the low density areas a number of descent groups often agree to exploit simultaneously an area

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[1] Rimoldi (1966:68) found no evidence of the need for new land as a motive for movement. He considers the major motives to be fear of sorcery, disputes between kin and life-crises. It is nevertheless conceivable that the fear or sorcery or disputes might arise from poor yields from over-cropped garden land, which would require a move in any case.

[2] Women are known to hold land only as a form of trust for their children (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:75).

[3] We do not know whether any causal relationship exists between these two factors. However, the existence in low density areas of primary forest surplus to current garden needs, plus extensive grassland and mountain areas utilised largely in hunting only, might well account for the responsibility for such land being vested in the larger social group, the clan branch. This group's significance has been eroded in the high density areas, where there is little or no land surplus to present gardening needs.

[4] In the high density areas hunting is frequently confined to garden land and individuals can commonly hunt over land belonging to anyone in the village.

[5] For example, sisters' sons (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:24).

time. In effect Gorukari is concerned essentially with producing and preparing for consumption the staple food, taro.

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The figure of 49.0 hours per week is somewhat misleading in the case of such a woman where so much time is taken up with care of children and minor household tasks which do not lend themselves to quantitative analysis. In following her movements through a single day it was found that, between rising at 0610 and finishing the evening meal at 1845, Gorukari spent only 1 hour 50 min. actually resting or eating. She was therefore active for a total of 10.8 hours compared with an 'activity' figure of 8.1 hours. From 1845 until 2220, when she retired, she sat and talked with her husband. Assuming this to have been a typical day, a woman such as Gorukari has an activity week of about 75 hours.

Social obligations account for 3.1 hours per week, 55 per cent spent in visiting. Not only is this substantially less than the figures for Linton and Palminus but it reflects a somewhat different emphasis. While the role of women in ceremonial life is subsidiary to that of the men, they are often responsible for the more informal exchanges which are a characteristic feature of Orokaiva life and, since the society is typically a patrivirilocal one, it is to be expected that the women spend a significant amount of time visiting their kin.

[562]
[591]

Gorukari's primary concern with food gardening and household tasks is expressed in the general distribution of her time. In particular she is more concerned with subsistence activities than the sample in general, these accounting for 79 per cent of her total activity time, while she also places greater stress on productive tasks. These facts are manifested in both the infrequency and short duration of her absences from the village which amount to only 1.1 per cent of potential survey days.

Olga. Olga is aged about 46 years and the wife of the most progressive of the older generation - a man with extensive non-traditional experience. They have eight children, the eldest of whom resides, with his family, next door. The two youngest, girls aged 10 and 14 years, attend Sasembata school and still live at home. All but one of the other children are married and normally reside elsewhere.

Subsistence gardening and household tasks dominate Olga's activities to an even greater extent than they do Gorukari's, accounting for 89 per cent of total time in an activity

When the Japanese landed at Gona Mission in July 1942, all the Yega - men, women and children - fled into the bush and made their way to Ambasi, 30 miles to the north-west. There they lived for the next two years, returning to the Gona area in 1944. By 1950 they had settled down again on their seven traditional village sites along the coast between Cape Killerton and the eastern end of Holnicote Bay. One new village was established at Surilai on Cape Killerton.

Clan membership determined the village of residence of each family in the Yega tribe. In some instances, place of residence was determined by membership of a particular sub-clan. Of the eight Yega villages, four were inhabited by male members of more than one clan. The remaining four villages were each occupied by members of only one clan and their wives and children.

After an abortive attempt at communal farming in 1947-52, the large village of Beporo was brought into existence under the direction and guidance of two educated young men who taught that a large village close to the mission church, school and hospital was the 'civilized' form of settlement. Some three quarters of the Yega people, apart from those in wage-work away from home, moved to Beporo village which was expanded to accommodate them. Although a broad pattern of clan residence could still be recognized in Beporo, the clans themselves began to lose their functional identity within the tribe. There was a weakening of traditional kinship patterns of co-operation in everyday activities.

Although their earlier communal farming venture had failed, the Yega were still very much attracted to the idea of making money from cash crops. Accordingly, with the advice of the District Agricultural Officer (D.A.O.), they cleared 15 blocks during 1957-8 and planted them with coffee trees. These blocks ranged from a quarter of an acre to two acres in area; one was planted by a group of six relatives, the remainder by individuals of various clans.

For the most part these coffee blocks were cleared in areas of secondary forest which normally formed part of the land rotation cycle for food crop production. Although they were located at distances of up to four miles from the blockholders' villages, only one man changed his place of residence as a direct result of establishing a coffee block. This man moved to Gatara, two and a half miles inland from his previous home and established a single-family homestead, a settlement quite out of keeping with traditional Yega practice. The coffee scheme failed, partly on account of low prices received for early pickings, and partly because in 1960 a much more ambitious cocoa-planting scheme, the so-called Yega Scheme, was begun. It absorbed most of the energies of the Yega during the following two or three years.

In pre-European times, according to present-day informants, the most important feasts held by the Orokaiva people were associated with initiation, marriage, death (though apparently not birth), and the enhancement of prestige. Feasts were also held to mark the transfer of land, the re-establishment of peace between persons who had been quarrelling, resumption of residence after a prolonged absence, and the lifting of prohibitions between a man and his mother-in-law.

It is impossible to know with any certainty the scale of feasting prior to European contact for, though a detailed study of these people was made in the late 1920s (Williams 1928 and 1930). Government patrols had brought tribal fighting to a halt some years before. It is therefore quite likely that, with less time taken up in warfare and greater freedom of movement assured, the feasts and ceremonies of that day were more elaborate than those of the pre-contact era.

While feasts are still held today, the relative emphasis given to each category has changed considerably. Feasts associated with initiation are held on a greatly reduced scale and often omitted altogether, but those relating to marriage and death remain important. The taro festivals, the main function of which appears to have been the enhancement of prestige, are still held in some places but have been abandoned in others. The other feasts listed above are still held occasionally, with the exception of those relating to the lifting of prohibitions in relation to mothers-in-law.[1]

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[1] Since the above was written, such a feast was held by a family from this village but now living on a government resettlement scheme about two miles away. The atypical circumstances of the new residence pattern may have caused the revival of the feast (known as poikari) because when the daughter of the settler married, the new husband was brought to live with them to help with cash cropping. This is contrary to the customary pattern of virilocal residence. Living in such close contact with his mother-in-law probably made the highly formalized relations between them difficult to maintain. The feast was thus invoked to sanction more relaxed relations between them.

583 is still transferred in most marriages, including those which take
177 place in a church.
799 Polygyny was accepted but probably not frequent in traditional
Orokaiva society. In spite of mission opposition there are still
595 instances of polygyny but the great majority of marriages are
monogamous. Marriage outside the clan is considered preferable
614 but there are numerous cases of marriage within the clan. The
village is not considered an exogamous unit. Marriages are usually
582 patrilocal but this is not a definite rule (cf. Williams 1930:130-3).
[621]
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III

584 In this particular marriage the groom lived in Inonda, a village of approximately 45 people about 11 miles from Popondetta.[1] His was the only family of the Jegotumo lineage of the Andiriha clan in Inonda, although there were others at Hohota I and Kakendetta.[2] The groom was the eldest child by his father's first wife. His mother died several years before his marriage and his father remarried. The father died six weeks before the marriage payment described here took place.

The groom attended Anglican mission schools for eight years and reached Standard V. He was baptized in 1958. In 1960, when he was about 16, he left school to train as a medical orderly at a mission hospital at Embi about ten miles from Inonda. In 1962 he returned to his father's household in Inonda and was employed by the government for $3 per week to tend the ford where the road from Popondetta to Oro Bay crossed the Girua river. He also assisted with the production of coffee, from which the household earned approximately $16.00 annually, and with the household's food gardens.

The bride attended mission schools for four years and reached Standard III but was not baptized. Her father, who died during World War II, had been the head of Joremba'embo lineage and of the Andiriha sub-clan in Inonda as well as headman of that village. After her father's death the bride went with her mother, elder sister and brother to live with her mother's elder brother at Ajoro village about five miles away. In 1948 a parallel cousin of her father was demobilized from the army and married her mother, thereby becoming her adoptive father (to be referred to hereafter simply as her father). Subsequently she lived in his household in Inonda

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

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1 See map, p.84A

2 See diagram, p.85B and Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:14-25.

A [See Category 102, p. 84--Analyst]

B [See Category 583, p. 85--Analyst]

619
423 a Land Titles Commissioner today has the
578 difficult task of adjudicating the rival claims
692 of two or more groups to the same areas of
657 forest land; each group can, moreover, produce men who can point out the trees marked by their ancestors and each group is convinced that they alone are in the right and the others merely conniving liars, who will use any methods to steal the land. The intensity of feeling which people generate over land became evident one day when I attended a meeting called by the Land Titles Commissioner to discuss rights to a small area between the Yega and a neighbouring parish. As my Yega friends and I left at the conclusion of the meeting we came on a group of Yega men in the bush fifty yards from the meeting site; they had prepared a supply of sharpened 8 foot poles 'just in case', they said, 'the others started a fight over the land!' Doubtless the other side was similarly prepared.

614 The Yega parish is composed of eight named,
613 exogamous, localised clans most of which are
[619] divided into sub-clans and lineages; descent is
591 patrilineal. On marriage, a girl leaves her
178 father's house and goes to live in the house provided by her husband; in past times the couple invariably went to live in the same village as the husband's father, but nowadays the rules have been greatly relaxed. Each clan
614 has a different totemic emblem which serves
784 as a kind of trademark. If the totem is an animal or edible plant it may not be eaten for food.

614 An abbreviated table illustrating the Yega
613 social structure is given in Table 1. [P.6-B]

361 cultivating gardens that are more than a mile or so away from his village.

When Rimoldi made his careful notes of cultivated gardens, 241 these seemed to be predominantly in the Northeastern part of the 311 village domain. These gardens are ordinarily fallowed for eight years or so and then cultivated for one season. The gardens in the Southwestern part of the village domain were undoubtedly being cultivated shortly after the eruption; they are again being cultivated today. It therefore seems to make sense that after the eruption people were living in Pamba, in that part of the domain and that the new Sivepe is again in that area.

731 Inonda experienced three shifts since the eruption: first 361 to the vicinity of the airstrip (1951), then to the village described by Crocombe and Hogbin (1955), then to the village where I myself stayed (established 1964; see Map VII).A The pre-eruption village was just behind this new village, again suggesting an orderly exploitation of garden land. In 1964, Inonda returned to garden land that had been fallowed since the eruption. People told me that before shifting to the present site, they had to walk much too far to their gardens.

361 While the layout of Pamba was traditional--with the houses close together and little space between the rows--both post-eruption 659 settlements of Sivepe and all the four post-war Inonda settlements followed what one may call the Australian standard plan: two fairly regular parallel rows of equidistant houses facing each other, with a few houses joining the two rows, thus forming a quadrangle, and a wide field in the middle, used for playing soccer and basketball and as a separation of the two "halves" of the village which tend to belong to different clans. A modern village will contain, in [364] addition to residences, privies for each family, while some have [345] built a hall for the women's club, sponsored by the government. Inonda built a very stylish one, using as a floor a slab of concrete [595] which the Americans laid down during the war. Sivepe got no further than the foundations, after which a quarrel blocked progress. In addition all villages contain a number of arara or jataka--covered platforms where men sit and receive visitors. Many villages, including ● [591] Sivepe, still have a bachelor's house. Typically, each house is occupied by a two-generation family comprising no more than one married couple. A stream is always close to the village.

The change in village layout as between Pamba and the two later Sivepe villages must be discussed in a little more detail as the eruption was clearly influential here. The Australian government has long been concerned about village layouts; this interest went beyond consolidations and included the improvement of housing 651 standards, village sanitation and roads. We find Wilfred Beaver, 364 in the Annual Report for 1914-15, already claiming that he had "insisted on these three essentials in village life," in the

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 7--Analyst]

CHAPTER III: Social Environment

Section 1: Opportunity for Contact with Outsiders

731 The experience of the eruption led to outside contacts that
171 would not otherwise have occurred. These outside contacts obviously were among the basic causes of social changes arising out of the eruption. In the present study, it is by no means easy to distinguish between outside contacts which arose out of the eruption, directly or indirectly, and those which existed prior to the eruption or were the result of social changes unconnected with the
121 eruption. But before we can address ourselves to this substantive question, it must first be clear what we shall mean by "outside contacts." The term "outsiders" is used repeatedly in Professor Barnett's specification of the variables to be included in the comparative study. What, exactly, are outsiders? In order to answer this question, I have to offer a few generalizations about Orokaiva social structure for which the documentation cannot be included here. A full treatment is given in my doctoral dissertation.

571 We may view the Orokaiva picture of his social universe as a set of widening concentric circles: family, local clan group, village, the clan within limits of kinship recognition, the consanguineal group within limits of kinship recognition, a group of contiguous friendly villages, the wider set of persons with which an individual entertains institutionalized friendship links, while beyond these limits we may discern even wider circles which become evident in special circumstances. This is an entirely
619 ego-centred model. I saw no evidence of groups of villages which
629 displayed a true corporate unity. Thus village A would have close relations with villages B and C, but village B would not have similarly close bonds with A and C. More likely, villages B and C would treat each other with marked reserve and B would have close relations with A and D; C would have close relations with A and E.

571 Patrilineages were very shallow in genealogical depth.
613 Though the kinship structure would need to be classified as predominantly patrilineal, I noted a strong consanguineal emphasis.
591 Bonds based on real or fictional siblingship, affinity, matrilineality, institutionalized friendship and--above all--residence and an uninterrupted flow of reciprocal transactions were stronger than all but the closest patrilineal bonds. Though residence was predominantly patri-virilocal, there were many non-agnates in local groups sharing the same clan name; inheritance was not necessarily in the patriline.

CHAPTER III: Degree of Homogeneity of the Community

621 To what extent do we find ethnic diversity in this population? The answer to this question depends very much on our concept of homogeneity. If we look merely at the diversity of clans and of places of birth of present community members, as stated by themselves, a remarkably homogeneous picture may be presented for Sivepe: out of 28 male adults actually resident in Sivepe, 26 were born within two miles of the present village site; the other two were born in Soroputa, which [591] is hardly more than four miles away. Both the Soroputa men had married [582] Sivepe women; they were the only two families that were overtly uxorilocal. Although the rest of the families were all overtly virilocal, only seven out of 33 adult Sivepe females came from a village more than two miles away from the present village site. None of these seven were over 45 years of age; all but two were under 35 years old. Furthermore, six of these seven women married into the Jegase clan. Only one of them married into Seho; in this case, the woman had married a Jegase man, become divorced, and then remarried into Seho.

621 582 The traditional pattern was for a man to marry a woman from a nearby village; the present generation of Seho householders had all followed this tradition. The more modern pattern is to choose women from further afield; this had become a frequent practise for the younger Jegase men who tended to choose wives from villages two to four (but never more) miles from Sivepe. Sorovi had followed the traditional pattern, without one exception. From this viewpoint, homogeneity was extreme.

563 169 In Inonda, two of the nine adult male inhabitants were born outside the district: one came from Arafa, in the Managalasi district and was captured by Inonda people in war as an infant. This fact was at first concealed from me and only elicited when inconsistencies arose. If one asks his clan name, he answers it is Andiriha. He has two sons living in the village, both married. The other immigrant is a Sangara man who was a mission teacher at Sewa before the eruption, came to Inonda with the other Sewa people, and did not return to Sewa when the others went back to their old village. His two daughters both married Inonda men.

621 628 [582] Of the ten adult women living at Inonda, four came from the Sangara tribe, one from Kendata in the Sasembata district and the others from villages in the vicinity of Inonda. The term "vicinity" has a slightly different meaning in the Inonda district than in the far more densely populated area around Sivepe. The villages from which Inonda women tended to come were three or four miles away rather than just one mile. To this greater geographical distance corresponded a greater

CHAPTER VI: Addition and Loss of Community Members

Though the population of Sivepa has increased between the years 1951 and 1967, this increase is less than might have been expected after the settling in Sivepa of two additional Jegase families and six Sorovi households. An analysis of Table 16A will show that the net population increase in 16 years corresponds very closely to the increase due to the immigration of 15 Jegase and 26 Sorovi people into Sivepa. The 1951 figures showed 40 children who, today, should range between the ages of 17 to 35; 15 of these were boys. Looking at the present Sivepa population, we find only six men of that age group and only three of these were children in Sivepa in 1951 (the other three are immigrants). This depletion of the 17-35 year age group is one of the most strking features of the present population structure.

The second striking change is in the number of children--there are almost twice as many of them in Sivepa today as there were in 1951. It seems likely that this increase should in part at least be due to the improved health services: the monthly clinics, with the possibility of immediate referral of young children to the Saiho hospital, do save a number of lives, even if the mortality rate is still high.

The migration of young women into and out of Sivepa is a continuous process due to virilocal residence; a far more significant demographic process is the outflow of men as a result of labour migration. Rimoldi reported that ten male siblings and sons of householders of his (Jegase-Timunu) sample were employed outside Sivepa in 1962; in 1966, I found that this figure had risen to 12. I have only included men who had been residents of Sivepa and who had left, as adults, to find work. By this criterion, it would not be possible to class absent brothers and sons of Sorovi men as "labour migrants from Sivepa," as these men had never lived in Sivepa at any time but had been residents of Gurombi before they became labour migrants. There were, at the time of the survey, no labour migrants of the Seho clan. The fact that Jegase had many labour migrants while Seho had not even one certainly accentuated the relative dearth of contact with the outside world that characterised Seho. On the other hand, we should not read too much significance into it. It so happened that the Seho men came from very small families; most of them actually had no adult brothers living, and though they had many children, the only adult children they had happened to be girls. Thus they collected a disproportionate amount of bridewealth but could not contribute much to the external labour market. The Seho men were not actually as cut off from the world as these statistics might suggest: all had sisters' sons and sisters' husbands, real or classificatory, who were labour migrants; two had themselves been labour migrants earlier in life. In

A [See Cat. 116, p. 225--Analyst]

731 Immediately after the eruption, the Sangara people decided to
[583] waive all bridewealth, so that a large percentage of the women in
[464] Hohorita were married without one. At the present time, bridewealth
[595] is reinstated, and young men go to neighbouring plantations, which are plentiful--or else further abroad--to earn them. While many husbands worked outside Hohorita, most of them were able to return home at weekends. Polygamy was pronounced before the eruption, but it seems that the polygamists became victims of the eruption and polygamy no longer exists as a recognised institution.

871 If the average educational standard at Hohorita is slightly above that of Sivepe, the reasons are: better facilities during the years 1945-1951, loss of many members of the older age groups in the eruption, special efforts made by Bishop Hand at Irihambo to draw Sangara into mission teaching. This higher standard is reflected in the statistics of persons who at one time or another have been in skilled occupations. (Table 21)[A] The persons who returned to Hohorita
434 did so with the express idea of making some money out of coffee; the average income from coffee in Hohorita is certainly far in excess of that in Sivepe (about $100 per annum).

Hohorita does feel that it is held back by the present educational
891 provisions which are little better than those in Inonda and much inferior to those at Sasembata. (At Hohorita, there is no schooling beyond Standard 3, whereas Sasembata goes up to Standard 6.) Hohorita people compare the school unfavourably with the government school at the Sangara resettlement block which offers Standard 6, and which, furthermore, has more highly qualified teachers on the staff. My own impression was that the head teacher at Hohorita is a very good man; some of the criticism of him is no doubt due to spite, for he is of local origin. Still, the general criticism of facilities at Hohorita is not unjust.

621 Hohorita is less homogeneous in ethnic origin than the other
563 villages discussed, as the population is drawn from different parts
582 of the Sangara tribe and intermarriage with other tribes has been frequent. The explanation may be found in the pressure, after the disaster, to find mates when most preferred potential marriage partners had died in the eruption. This breaking down of the endogamous emphasis after wars and disasters is, as I pointed out earlier, traditional among the Orokaiva.

423 Heterogeneity was countered to some extent by an arrangement
●591 which was, according to informants, made by a popular meeting shortly after the eruption. According to this arrangement women who married
582 outside Sangara, would be allowed the same land rights as though they had been sons. This was done in an effort, so I was told, to add men to the depleted Sangara population. Men would thus be encouraged to settle on Sangara land rather than take their Sangara wives home with them. Two men from the Sasembata district are now living in Hohorita under this arrangement. They keep up normal exchange relations with their home district, e.g., I know one of them lent hambo for the kere

A [See Cat. 116, p. 228--Analyst]

dance in Sasembata. But they enjoy very much better conditions than are usual for men who marry uxorilocally.

The mortality among the elderly at the time of the eruption was so great that many traditional customs and myths were lost among the Sangara with the elders who knew them. For instance, rituals carried on at birth in Sivepe are no longer practised in Hohorita. For the rest, I did not see many differences between the villages in level of acculturation. Housing conditions in Sivepe were better; money was more plentiful at Hohorita. Dances were far more carefully practised and more expertly performed at Sivepe. Clearly, the Hohorita people spent more time at their coffee; this was given as the reason for neglect in other matters. It may well be that cash-cropping above the level noted at Sivepe has necessary consequences of this sort unless technological changes occur. Ideologically, Hohorita is--as I demonstrated--more deeply involved with the concepts of the New Day than Sivepe.

Though no groups have left Hohorita since it was founded, the co-residence of these many clans does make for a certain instability. The leaders of the Oripa clan group told me that just after the eruption very few Oripa were left, but as the clan was becoming more numerous, it was beginning to think to establishing its own village. Besupa was harbouring similar thoughts. Both these clans were minority clans in their part of the village and this inevitably implied some subordination. In Sivepe, the fusion of Jegase and Timusu had established a fairly equal balance with Seho, as both clan groups were about equal in strength if the greater resources of Seho are taken into account. In Hohorita, however, the supremacy of Horeopa (and Sehopa in the back section of the village) could hardly be challenged. The councillor and the government are opposed to such fission and overcapping organisations such as the credit union, the women's club, the church, the school, etc. may gradually set up a firm esprit de corps. The importance of tree-crops (as opposed to shifting cultivation) in the Hohorita economy might be a further disincentive to the migration of groups to another village, but Oripa has in mind a new village site which would actually be closer to their coffee gardens.

Section 6: Conclusion

In this study, we have found three complex forces, acting as causes of changes, to be intertwined: forces acting throughout Papua and New Guinea to promote socio-economic development, the effect of the relocation of certain communities near Mount Lamington after the eruption, and the physical and cognitive effects of the eruption itself. The last-mentioned of these forces was far more disastrous for Sangara than for the rest of the Northern District of Papua. In tracing the causes of culture change in Hohorita, we have to give especial emphasis

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

But recruitment to this status is not restricted to specific categories; any two people can become *namei*. These bonds provide some measure of control over the flow of information, and a prudent man will establish them in places where such control is important. They serve to set up channels of information where they are lacking in the kinship-generated network. Unfortunately, neither my Orokaiva data nor any other Oceanic data provide much specific information on the channels which these relationships open up, although Burridge has referred to Tangu friendship as providing "a form of communication." On this basis, a friend's obligations would be to spread the renown of your friend, speak in his favour if others criticize him, advise him of anything that is being undertaken against him, and so forth. In practice, anthropologists have often overlooked such obligations towards their friends in the field.

(b) *Jao*. An important source of hereditary friendships, perhaps the most important of all, are *jao* relationships: friendships between unrelated women. A woman uses the term *jao* to address the wife of any *hovatu* (brother-in-law) when these two women are unrelated. A consequence of the rule of virilocal marriage is that the married women in a village tend to be unrelated to each other, having been drawn from a variety of villages in which various families had exchanged relations. When these women become friendly with each other, they call each other *jao*. Similar friendships are also common between women of adjacent villages even when their husbands are unrelated.

As such relationships are hereditary bilaterally, they may lead to a *namei* or *apa/eambo* relation between the sons of these women in the second generation, thus linking families between which no friendship existed previously. Moreover, if the daughters of the *jao* become separated from each other after marriage, they often continue their own *jao* relation, and visit each other's villages. They receive gifts on these visits, though on a more modest scale than the men do (as far as I could see, only vegetable produce was given). At times, they may stay for a few days before they return. It seems to be the Orokaiva wife's way of having a break from the domestic round.

Unfortunately, a male anthropologist cannot plumb the mysteries of this relationship, as informants refuse to discuss it with any male, including their own husbands. A female anthropologist might find fascinating data; my only significant discovery was that women attach great weight to the institution, that it has secret aspects, and that it definitely binds males of the next generation. Married women certainly feel the lack of co-resident consanguines and the establishment of *jao* visits is clearly a substitute.

If two unrelated young women of district A are *jao* and marry in villages B and C, this leads to inter-village links, not only between A and B, and A and C (links directly resulting from the affinal relationships), but also between B and C since the *jao* continue to visit each other, as do their sons. Hence, the *jao* institution is an important source of friendship linkages.